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THE FUNCTION OF DIDO'S FIGURE IN THE AENEIS

Le nez de Cléopâtre:
s'il eut été plus court,
toute la face de la terre
aurait changé.
(Pascal)

Several researchers have noticed that Dido's figure and the Carthagean scene occupy a fairly large part of the epic; almost one-third of the whole work. What explains such a detailed and careful elaboration of this "episode"? According to J.–P. Brisson[1] the reason is not that Vergilius followed Naevius, because the Punic war has been a fresh experience for Naevius, and adaptation had a great, current political importance. By the time of the origin of the Aeneis these wars were not of much up-to-date significance, so it is understandable that after the Carthagean scene these motives are only mentioned incidentally by Vergilius. Brisson says that the only explanation for the detailed description is that the question of Carthage had a current consequence in the era of Vergilius. According to Brisson this topicality is the foundation of "new" Carthage, that was ordered in the year of 29 by Octavius. The question why? is also posed by K. McLeish[2] who comes to the conclusion that *a)* Dido cannot simply be the heroine of an Aristotle type tragedy, *b)* there is no way that Vergilius, like Pygmalion had, has fallen in love with his heroine, and so exaggerating the scene, *c)* but this great episode cannot be considered the poet's fault of composition either. According to McLeish the only possible solution is: Dido's function is to emphasize Aeneas' *pietas* and *virtus*. In my opinion neither Brisson nor McLeish's attempt of solution give an acceptable answer to the question of Dido' s function. One is too concrete, the other gives a very general explanation, which cannot be looked upon as a "literary" explanation. These explications may suggest that it is necessary to find excuses for Vergilius' disproportionateness of composition in the Aeneis. In reality that is not so; the structure of the Aeneis is perfect: each part comprehends neither more nor less than what was considered ideal by aesthesics of the Augustan Age. In the following I would like to explain and prove this thesis of mine.

1. The Aeneis consisting of 12 books can easily be separated into 3 separate sections: *a)* 1–4; *b)* 5–8; *c)* 9–12. books. These sections are concluded by events which dominate the following plot on one hand and that of Rome's coming history on the other: Dido's death in the 4th book, Aeneas'

shield with the picture of the victory of Actium in the 8th book, Turnus' death in the 12th. In case we intend to link these sections to central figures it is Aeneas and Dido in the first part, Aeneas and Rome in the second, Aeneas and Turnus in the third. Naturally these connections do not mean that these are the only figures taking part in the mentioned sections, but that they play central characters in the structure of events in the different sections; in other words they clarify and explain the complication of the plot in the each part, but in such a manner that these sections both maintain their independence and remain a functional part of the whole, in such a way, that only when the last word of the 12th book has been heard do they gain their final meaning.

The best way to demonstrate the substance of this structure is to examine the construction of a threecolon period which is qualified "*commodissima et absolutissima*" by the author of Rhetorica ad Herennium and it is illustrated with the following example: "*Et inimico proderas et amicum laedebas et tibi non consulebas.*"[3] The ends of the colons are emphasized by hard homoioteleutons. Although each clause is independent, but because there is a contrast between them the complete meaning is obtained only after the last colon has been heard. The colons seem to be of the same length (8 – 7 – 8 syllables) so forming isocolons and ending both rhythmically and conceptually.

Also, the three sections of the Aeneis are about the same length each of them consist of four books, and both within and between the sections there are contrasts. In the first and the third parts individual desire and passion is contrary to fate's destination, in the second it is Aeneas' unsure perspective to the prophecies and signals which foreshadow the future. But the contrasting sections are also contrary to each other. The middle section determining Aeneas' idealism and announcing Rome's coming magnitude is contrary to the first section emphaizing Dido's idealism and exposing the unrestrained Turnus in the third section. At the same time there is also a contrast between the first and third sections; in the first we hear about the wars of the past, and also in the work of art, but in the third part the present: concrete wars are developed. In the first section the fascination of a woman tries to stop the main character from accomplishing his vocation, in the third it is the combative strength of a man. The central, second section on the one hand definitively closes down the first section (since Dido last appears in the 6th book), and on the other hand creates field for the development of his own theme; Rome's prospective future and different cults; and builds up the final battles, the final engagement. Consequently the Aeneis' structure is characterized by perfect harmony, proportionality and symmetry; this balance is based upon the concordance of contrasts, in other words, the contest of the main characters' remains in balance for a while.

2. So if we accept the above mentioned situation it should be understood that Dido's figure is exactly as important as Turnus' and just as "great" as that of Aeneas since they are equal opponents and so equal in

greatness. Indeed Vergilius presents Dido and Aeneas identical in several matters.

Dido has to flee from the homeland like Aeneas had to. Dido was also married but her husband had been murdered, and the ghost of her murdered husband told her to escape as Creusa has done that to Aeneas. Dido escapes with the people and they found a new city (I 340 – 370). Aeneas is surprised of her industrious activity, the progress at city-planning and wishes he would be in a similar stage (I 496 – 504). Queen Dido is the most beautiful of all mortal women:

> *regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido*
> *incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva* (I 496 – 97).

In the 4th book Vergilius states the same about Aeneas:

> *ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis*
> *infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit* (I 141 – 142).

Dido is charitable and understanding towards the misfortuned Trojans (I 566 – 574); Aeneas appreciates this and he wants to stay grateful to her for ever (I 600 – 610). Dido falls in love with Aeneas and Aeneas with her too, at least we have the feeling he does, because he is having a nice time in Carthage. He even forgets his vocation and and when Mercurius summons him to leave he acknowledges that he would not leave on his own: *Italiam non sponte sequor* (IV 361). Even during his leaving he keeps sighing about his painful love:

> *multa gemans magnoque animum labefactus amore*
> *iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit* (IV 395 – 96).

And naturally when their love is fulfilled they both like it since the most beautiful woman encounters the greatest man. (IV 165 – 168).

Turnus is similar to Aeneas: The most valiant of all champions (VII 55 – 56); Latinus would offer Lavinia to him but the prophecies predict a stranger (VII 370 – 71). So when Turnus battles with Aeneas he fights for his fiancée and his country at the same time; the greatest battles with the greatest. The poet introduces both champions one-by-one during their battle and seeing their war-like fury we understand that they are the greatest warriors in the battle (X 366; and 510).

3. But if both Dido's and Turnus' figures are just as distinguished as the one of Aeneas, why do they still have to fail? Obviously because for some reason they are different from Aeneas.

Aeneas follows the divine will with the constancy of a stoic philosopher. Stoic gods are taking care of this stoic hero and make him feel he is not alone in this world, he is a part of this godship.[4] In spite of this Aeneas' task is not simple: his individual desires sometimes conflict with fate. According to the smart statement of W. S. Anderson Aeneas sometimes wants to run away from his vocation, forget the problems of Rome's coming future, nevertheless this Epicurean temptation only lasts for a short period of time and the hero always recovers proceeds along his vocation.[5] Or the way B.

Otis says: Aeneas does not only fight against the outside *furor*, but he is also able to overcome the inside *furor* hiding in himself and thus rising to the heights of an ideal Roman hero of the Augustan Age who carries out his obligation with sacred heroism.[6]

Dido is far from this mentality towards fate.[7] When he is informed of Aeneas' will of leaving with his people he questiones the hero. Aeneas admits that he has to leave because that is fate's wish nevertheless not just fate's but that of Apollo's and Jupiter's too:

> *Sed nunc Italiam magnam Gyneus Apollo,*
> *Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes;*
> *hic amor, haec patria est* (IV 345–347).

Dido growing furious repeats the words of Aeneas: First he comes up with Apollo, later with Jupiter's deputy as it was the duty of the calm gods to take care of him:

> *Scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos*
> *sollicitat* (IV 379–380).

Since Servius every commentary notice that this sentence expresses the principle of the Epicurean theology of the undisturbed stillness of gods which states that not any kind of outside influence can affect the gods[7] but they are unable to affect other worlds so that of man's either. This is the reason why they are called calm *(quietus)* gods. Lucretius also uses this word describing the gods.[8]

What is the function of this Epicurean statement submitted by Dido? According to Cartault and Buscaroli[9] this is to prove the philosophy of electicism of Vergilius. A. Schmitz[10] thinks that Dido does not believe what Aeneas says; and Aeneas' words concerning the gods are just an excuse to conceal the true reason of his leaving. E. Paratore[11] in his commentary remarked that Dido was desperate and he only said these words on the run accidentally, although this principle does not express his outlook upon life. G. Stégen[12] supposes that the ingratitude of the gods scandalizes Dido and call Aeneas away as a pay-off for his charity. Williams is closer to the truth saying: "Dido is not prepared to believe that anyone should sacrifice his personal life to requirements to be imposed by the gods. It is a conflict between belief in a man-centred universe and belief in a divinely controlled world."[13] This recent attitude, says Williams[14] in another study of his, is that of Aeneas and Dido is not capable of accepting that. So there is a great difference between their philosophical background. Aeneas stands closer to the stoicism of divine providence[15], as Dido is after individual desire, happiness of Epicurism. Dido's desires oppress his vocation. Dido is like the animals, she is after his instincts and because of all these passions she looses his mind (IV. 300–330)[16]. The same intense emotions, in forms of love and anger, take over Turnus (*ira et furor;* VII 460–466). His disturbed pride and his love towards Lavinia deprive him from the capability of thinking. The poet demonstrated his unbridled martial spirit and fury with the wildness of a lion and with the unrestrained anger of a

bull.[17] Contrary to this Aeneas always negotiates before deciding in every situation whether it is midst of a battle or he is having problems with love, always ponders and (IV 393 – 400) choses the best solution:

> *Talia per Latium. Quae Laomedontius heros*
> *cuncta videns magno curarum fluctuat aestu,*
> *atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc*
> *in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat* (VIII 18 – 21).

The conflict of Turnus and Aeneas can shortly be called the conflict of instincts and reason.

4. Vergilius' technique of carrying out the plot has an apparent feature, namely that while describing the plot he often refers to the present, more exactly to the Rome of Augustus in forms of prophecies and references.[18] There are dialectical joints between Rome's present time and its history: the past helps to understand the present and vica-versa. This is what explains and accounts for the happenings of the poet's age because while he is writing about the past he always keeps an eye on the present. He does not only introduce the origin of the majestic cults that were renewed by Augustus, he also reviews the vitality of the ideologies on which Augustus' politics was based.[19] One may evidently think that the central figures of the epic, Aeneas, Dido and Turnus could be associated with Augustus, Cleopatra and Antonius by some contemporary readers. In reality the question is whether it is right to interpret a lirerary work's figures allegorically and symbolically or not. According to present theoretical researches it is not only allowed but necessary to do so. That is because a belletristic composition is not a historical work in which the figures are already determined by facta of established happenings, nevertheless it is potentially opened to different interpretations.[20] The allegorical interpretations were more popular in the antique world than today.[21] So in this matter I definitively agree with J. Perret who – as I have learnt it – was the first one to attempt to interpret the figure of the epic symbolically. This way if Aeneas can be the image of Augustus – remarkably many accept this – then the image of Dido can be that of Cleopatra – with the same logic Turnus of can remind Antonius in a way. The symbolic interpretation makes it possible for an event or a figure to appear in several situations, says J. Perret,[22] that is Dido, for example, according to one meaning is a tragic queen, who is in love with Aeneas, in a second sense she is the foreshadow of the Punic wars, in the third she symbolizes Cleopatra, the allurement of the East.

It has to be noticed that several Vergilius researchers deny the possibility of a symbolic-allegoric interpretation. According to K. Büchner[23] the association would reduce Dido's dignity. V. Pöschl[24] says that the Carthagean scene symbolizes the danger that endangers the Puritan Roman spirit in the Eastern surroundings. On the other hand, Binder expounds that besides the fact that Dido wanted to hold Aeneas aback and Cleopatra Antonius. There is no other similarity between the two queens is no other similarity between the two queens. But these objections are not

serious enough to exclude the abovementioned symbolic interpretations. Binder's objections can easily be disproved on a theoretical basis too; it is not necessary to have many or every factor common for an allegoric approach of two persons or two events; one substantial feature is enough and that is true with Dido and and Cleopatra and even Binder admits this. The weakness in Pöschl's point of view is that it is not congruous: he accepts a symbolic interpretation of the Carthagean scene but denies any other ones, like a symbolic interpretation of the main character of the scene, Dido. It is not so simple to answer Büchner's objections which say that an identification would reduce Dido's dignity. In a matter of comparison if the one being compared is greater than the other member, then it is an aggrandizement and if it is smaller then it is diminishing. So according to Büchner's point of view Cleopatra is far behind Dido, consequently the danger of Cleopatra to Octavius and the Roman Empire was less serious than the danger of Dido towards Aeneas. To disprove Büchner's statement I have to evince the probability of the following: *a)* Cleopatra as a ruler and as a woman seriously endangered the Roman Empire and Octavius *b)* her war against the Roman Empire can be associated with the perpetual hostilities expressed in Dido's curses. *c)* Vergilius himself makes the association possible by exposing the decesive battle of the two sides at action on the shield of Aeneas according to the contemporary propaganda.

Ad *a)* The way Dido beautifully delayed the foundations of Rome is the way that Cleopatra delayed the peace of the empire. Her harmful activity began during Caesar's reign: the attractive queen misleads the head of the winning army in a way that his soldiers have to remind him of his duties.[26] Another comparison worth dicussing is that Aeneas had to be reminded in Dido's court too.[27] Another great Roman, Antonius was endangered and driven into devastation by Cleopatra. Cleopatra influenced him to commit treason, the most seriuos dishonour.[28] Pseudoacro says that Cleopatra endangered Octavius the same way but he did not yield to the temptation: *Augustum deinde temptasse, sed eum eius vitasse complexus.*[29]

The vital question in the contemporary, daily politics was the question whether the emperor will be Octavius or Antonius, aligned with Cleopatra. This dilemma is well expressed by an apisode that has happened to a craftsman; who before the battle of Actium taught one of his ravens: "Ave Caesar victor imperator!", and the other one: "Ave Victor imperator Antoni".[30] But even the higher circles dread the Egyptian war and the Egyptian woman. Propertius demonstrated their fear by the following:

> *Septem urbs alta iugis, toto quae prasidet orbi,*
> *femineas timuit territa Marte minas* (III 11, 57 – 58).

Ad *b)* Dido swears perpetual revenge[31] against Aeneas and his offsprings thus giving a reason for the implacables conflict:

> *Tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum*
> *exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro*
> *munera. Nullus amor populis nec foedera sunto.*

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor
qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos,
nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.
Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
imprecor, arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotesque. (IV 622–629).

The offence is later avenged by one of his descendants; he most probably refers to the destruction of the Hannibal. The poet may have thought of others than Hannibal as well, as it is expressed in the fearful prophecy. The expression: *quomcumque dabunt se tempore vires* has a wider meaning saying: whenever possible, thus forever. The bounds of time are widened letting us know that Dido's revenge is not all over by the Punic wars. This interpretation is supported by the *pugnent ipsique nepotesque* statement, about which Servius notices: *potest et ad civile bellum referri*, that is a Roman commentator saying that Dido's curse correlates with the civil war, more exactly with Octavius' war against Antonius and Cleopatra. This means a widening of space, as well – because it is not only Carthage against Rome but coast against coast and sea against sea: *litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas.*

Ad *c)* In the battle of Actium, the two opponents are demonstrated like two contrary worlds by Vergilius. On one side Octavius leads his army:

Hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis
stans celsa in puppi (VIII 678–681).

Augustus marches to battle like Aeneas did once: along with his people, fathers and with the great gods, who were once brought by Aeneas from the burning Troy. On the opposite side there is Antonius surrounded by the Barbaric, effeminate and mixed crowd of the East:

Hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis,...
Aegyptum virisque Orientis et ultima secum
Bactra vehit, sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx (VIII 685–8).

Along with them there is the *Aegyptia coniunx*, Cleopatra and this fact drives the poet to refer to the tragicomic impossibility of the whole situation by the insertion *nefas* since between an Egyptian and a Roman there can be no *amor* or *foedus* of any kind.

According to Vergilius the battle of Actium is also a struggle of gods. The disgusting gods of the Barbaric East fight against the true gods:

omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis
contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam
tela tenent (VIII 698–700).

As F. Altheim, then I. Becher[32] dwell on, the abovementioned lines have a great political up-to-dateness. The struggle between Antonius and Augustus was also on a religious basis. To reach their political goals Antonius and Cleopatra put forward the cult of certain gods.[33] To these gods Ver-

gilius opposes Roman gods, Venus, Aeneas' mother, Minerva, Neptunus and the tutelary god of Octavianus; Apollon who plucked his arrow and the disgusting gods of the East all ran away. There was nothing other than the shameful running and suicide for Cleopatra either; Dido's retribution overtook her:

> *Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo*
> *desuper; omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,*
> *omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei.*
> *Ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis*
> *vela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funis* (VIII 704–708).

It is easy to notice the propaganda in this description which emphasizes the importance of the battle of Actium and the cowardice of Antonius and Cleopatra. Naturally this appealed to Augustus. Based on antique sources especially Cassius' analysis of Dido, J. Lindsay[34] and M. Grant[35] manifest that the propaganda contained three kinds of reports: *a)* Cleopatra badly decieved Antonius, when she escaped to save her life without his permission, *b)* Antonius left his troops in the lurch and ran after the sinful queen who has fascinated him, *c)* the battle was historic, it decided the question of ruling over the West and the East in one day. In reality the battle was brought to an issue before the day of the fight. The smart manovers of Agrippa put Antonius' fleet under blocade, thus cutting off the line of supply coming from Egypt. Accepting Cleopatra's advice Antonius decided to break the blocade. They planned to carry this out in threee stages. First, on the bases of the mutual agreement, it was Cleopatra's turn to break out, then Antonius came and at last, in the third phase, the third part of the fleet did so. But in the meanwhile the fight grew so violent that they could only carry out the first two stages of their tactics. But since the prevention of this breaking out was not a great feat of arms, the battle of Actium showed up as a decisive great battle and the winner and the hero of this tight war: Apollo and Octavianus.[36] From the above I think it is reasonable to conclude Büchner's statement, stating that a comparison of Dido and Cleopatra would degrade Dido, is false. Dido and Cleopatra, when identifying them, raise up and shed light to each other: Cleopatra gains as much from Dido's pitiable, beautiful love as much Dido gains from Cleopatra's ruling majesty. And I do not think that this interpretation would be different with that of the poet because if we can believe he liked and felt pity for tragic heroes of his epic:

> *non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco* (I 630).

5. Summing up, we should state that it is not correct to talk about a Dido-episode because this expression suggests that Dido is just a minor character. In fact, Dido is one of the three main characters of the epic, a personality whose greatness and importance can be grasped only in relation with the two other leading figures, Aeneas and Turnus. Accepting this we have to understand that one-third of the epic is dominated by the Dido-story and the other two-third is tinged by this motive just

like these parts tinge the section about Dido. Consequently the composition of the Aeneis forms a three-sectioned, proportionate and balanced totality; Vergilius enlarges and improves the monumentality of the main characters by the artistic demonstration of their particular characteristic and the opening way for allegoric interpretations and so linking his mythical heroes to great personalities of the contemporary present (Aeneas-Augustus, Dido-Cleopatra, Turnus-Antonius). This creates – while reading the epic – the possibility to understand the tragic events of his age, and through these events a better understanding of his message: the selfish and unrestrained passion brings destruction, the truthful sense of vocation and deliberate mutual participation, although it needs suffering and demission sometimes, it brings importance to life in this world and prepares place for us on the happy fields of Elysium (VI 719–751).[37]

[1] *J.–P. Brisson:* Carthage et le *fatum*. Réflexion sur un thème de l'Énéide. In: Hommages à Marcel Renard. Bruxelles 1969, 162–173.

[2] *K. McLeish:* Dido, Aeneas, and the concept of *pietas*. G&R. 19 (1972) 127–135.

[3] *Ex duobus membris suis haec exornatio potest constare; sed commodissima et absolutissima est, quae ex tribus constat, hoc pacto: "Et inimico proderas et amicum laedebas et tibi non consulebas"* (IV 26). This structure of three sections is actually the simplest, the most sophisticated: not too little, but not exceedingly much either: just adequate. This is expressed by a term of Rhetorica ad Herennium which say that the enumeration should not contain more than three members: *Enumeratione utemur, cum dicemus numero, quot de rebus dicturi sumus. Eam plus quam trium partium numero esse non oportet: nam et periculosum est, ne quando plus minusve dicamus* (I 17). But for the same reason orations set up according to traditions of Korax follow this structure of three parts: introduction, treatment of the subject and conclusion. naturally this simple construction may appear in a more complex form as it had in the Aeneis or in the Ars Poetica of Horatio (about subject see: М. Л. Гаспаров: Композиция „Поэтики" Горация. Очерки истории римской литературной критики. Москва 1963., 97–151., or Ovidius' Metamorphoses, see *Szilágyi J. Gy.*: Az „Átváltozások" költője. Publius Ovidius Naso: Átváltozások Budapest, Magyar Helikon 1975, 474–475). I would like to emphasize that the dividing of the Aeneis into three in this manner of *G. E. Duckworth:* (The Aeneid as a Trilogy. TAPhA 88 (1957) 1–10) does not exlude any other arrangement for example a distribution into two, *comp. R. Heinze:* Virgils epische Technik. Leipzig und Berlin 1908², 455; The Aeneid of Virgil. Edited with Introduction and Notes by *R. D. Williams*. Glasgow 1972, XX. *A. Primmer* Zu Thema und Erzählstruktur der Aeneis. WS 14 (1980) 83–101; *A. Primmer:* Vergils Erzählkunst. Festschrift und Jahresbericht 1982/83 des Bundesgymnasiums Kems.

[4] *R. D. Williams:* op. cit. XXV.

[5] *W. S. Anderson:* The art of the Aeneid. New Jersey 1969, 35.

[6] *B. Otis:* Virgil. A study in civilized poetry. Oxford 1966, 219.

[7] *Lucr.* II 645–51; V 83. The rest of the comparison: *C. Buscaroli:* Il libro di Didone. Milano – Genova – Roma – Napoli 1932, 262–263.

[8] *sed quia tute tibi placida cum pace quietos*
constitues magnos irarum volvere fluctus (VI 73–74).

[9] *C. Buscaroli:* op. cit. 262–263.

[10] *A. Schmitz:* Infelix Dido. Éditions J. Duculot, S. A. 1960, 143.

[11] *Virgilio:* Eneide a cura di *Ettore Paratore*. Libro quarto. Roma 1948, 80–81.

[12] *G. Stégen:* La plan du IVe Livre de l'Énéide. Namur 1970, 139–141.

[13] *R. D. Williams:* op. cit. I 367.

[14] *R. D. Williams:* Dido's Reply to Aeneas (Aen. 4, 362–387). Vergiliana. Publiées par *H. Bardon* et *R. Verdière*. Leiden 1971, 426–427.

[15] Concerning the philosophy of Vergilius see: *T. J. Haarhoff:* Vergil the universal. Oxford 1949, 72–75; *G. Castelli:* Echi lucreziani nelle Echloge Virgiliane. RSC 14 (1966)

313–342; *P. Boyancé:* La religion de Virgile. Paris 1963; *T. Frank:* Vergil, a Biography. Oxford 1922, 109; 182.; *J.–P. Brisson:* Virgile, son temps et le nôtre. Paris 1966, 201.; *V. D. Agostino:* Verso il "nuovo Virgilio". Vergiliana publiées par *H. Bardon* et *R. Verdière.* Leiden 1971, 126–127; *M. F. S. Knight:* Roman Vergil. Penguin Books 1966, 394; *A. Michel:* A propos de la tradition doxographique: épicurisme et platonisme chez Virgile. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von K. Büchner. Wiesbaden, 1970, 197–205.

[16] compare *R. A. Hornsby:* Patterns of action in the Aeneid. Iowa City 1970, 89–100.

[17] see the interpretations of these comparisons: *R. A. Hornsby:* op. cit. 119.

[18] Detailed about the problem *Trencsényi–Waldapfel I.:* P. Vergilius: Aeneis. Epic. Budapest 1962, I–XXXIX; *K. Quinn:* Virgil's Aeneid. A critical description. London 1968, 50–51; 293. Quinn emphasizes the occasional feature of the Aeneis, in other words the battle of Actium is linked to the opportunity: Actium is the peak of a long historical process that begins with Aeneas escaping from Troy.

[19] *Hahn I.* is right pointing out that in the Aeneis Vergilius "is not expressing his personal attitude and evaluation but the princeps' contemptation of the Roman past, present and among this his approach to his own character; more precisely, according to the princeps all that the Roman general public needed to know and to believe in." The poetry of Augustus and the Golden Age of Augustus. In: Opuscula classica mediaevaliaque in honorem J. Horváth. Budapest 1978, 162–163. *D. Thompson* represents about the same idea: Allegory and typology in the Aeneid. Arethusa 3 (1970) 147–153.

[20] *Umberto Eco:* The Open Composition. Budapest 1976, 14ff.

[21] *G. Ripanti:* L'allegoria o l'intellectus figuratus. REAug. 18 (1972) 219–232.

[22] *S. Perret:* Virgile, l'homme et l'oeuvre. Paris 1952, 106 skk.; compare *R. D. Williams:* CR 4 (1954) 35. *K. Quinn* also stands for a symbolic interpretation: Dido's and Aeneas' relation is firstly related to Cleopatra's and Augustus' relation but it does not exclude the Cleopatra-Antonius, the Cleopatra-Caesar connections either.

[23] *K. Büchner:* P. Vergilius Maro. RE II, 8, 2 (1958) 1369.

[24] *V, Pöschl:* Die Dicktkunst Virgils. Wien 1964, 96–97. Anm. 1.

[25] *G. Binder:* Aeneas und Augustus. Interpretation zum 8. Buch der Aeneis. Meisenheim am Glan 1971, 238.

[26] Suet. Caes. 52: *sed maxime Cleopatram, cum qua et convivia in primam lucem saepe protaxit et eadem nave thalamego paene Aethiopia tenus Aegyptum penetravit, nisi exercitus sequi recusasset...*

[27] *V. Pöschl:* Dido und Aeneas. Festschrift K. Vretska. Heidelberg 1970, 164. The establishment of *Mária B. Révész* has to be noticed which says Aeneas acts as "democratic princeps" staying with his mates all the time, cares for them, acts and decides in concert with them. But in Dido's court the mates play a minor role, compare: Le drince "démocratique"de l'Énéide. Annales Univ. Scient. Budap. Sectio Classica 4 (1976) 36.

[28] *Plut Ant.* 25; see also *Suet. Aug.* 17: *M. Antonii societatem semper dubiam et incertam reconciliationibusque variis male focilatam abrupit tandem, et quo magis degenerasse eum a civili more approbaret, testamentum, quod is Romae etiam de Cleopatra liberis inter heredes nuncupatis reliquerat, aperiundum recitandumque pro contione curavit.*

[29] *Ad carm.* I 37, 13: *sospes navis ab ignibus: aut per allegoriam ostendit Cleopatram primum corporis sui inlecebris Caesarem cepisse, secundum Antonium, Augustum deinde temptasse, sed eum eius vitasse complexus.*

[30] *Macr. Sat.* II 4, 29.

[31] According to *Mme A.–M. Tupet* the wizardry scene through lines IV 504–521. give the meaning of the curses upon Aeneas and Rome. It also lights Dido's suicide: the losing of her life is a ritual sacrifice, and so unrevengedly takes vengeance on Aeneas and his offsprings by the barbaric means of black art, becoming a coarse witch in her madness: Didon Magicienne. REL 48 (1970) 229–258. I do not agree with *A. Setaioli,* who says that the wizardry scene does not fit in the context, indicating that Vergilius was not yet able to work out this part in to a final shape: A proposito *Aen.* IV. 504–521: Studia Florentina Alexandro Ronconi sexagenario oblata. Roma 1970, 393–403.

[32] *F. Altheim:* Römische Religionsgeschichte. Baden-Baden 1953, II. 208. skk.; *I. Becher:* Oktavians Kampf gegen Antonius und seine Stellung zu den ägyptischen Göttern. Altertum 11 (1965) 40–47.

[33] About Cleopatra's plans *Kákosy L.:* Augustus and Egypt. Ant. Tan. 14 (1967) 307–315. The actuality of the question of Egypt around 20. B. C. see *Borzsák I.*1 "*Exegi monu-*

mentum aere perennius". Ant. Tan. 11 (1964) 57–73; *Maróti E.: Aere perennius.* Ant. Tan. 14 (1967) 305.

[34] *J. Lindsay:* Cleopatra. London 1971, 393. skk.

[35] *M. Grant:* Cleopatra. London 1972, 203–228.

[36] Horace describes Cleopatra similarly, see about this *J. V. Luce:* Cleopatra as Fatale monstrum. CQ 13 (1963) 257: "I have allowed that *monstrum* is abusive in so far as it reflects the average Romans superstitious horror of Cleopatra, but have argued that in Horace's learned and humane mind the term carried richer and deeper meanings. In particular, I have emphasized the mythical and ethical associations of the word."

[37] Compare *N. I. Barbu:* Valeurs Romaines et idéaux humains dans le livre VI de l'Énéide. Vergiliana. Publiées par H. Bardon et R. Verdiére. Leiden 1971, 32.